

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 EA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

ACDA-19 AEC-11 AF-10 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NASA-04 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-07 OIC-04 SP-03 PA-04

PRS-01 RSC-01 SCI-06 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 MC-02 DRC-01

/210 W

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R 011140Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5454

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS 3947

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2372

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: SPRING MEETING OF NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS

GENEVA PASS CCD

VIENNA PASS USDEL IAEA

SUMMARY: DISARMAMENT EXPERTS MEETING APRIL 29-30 WAS ATTENDED BY REPS OF ALL NATO COUNTRIES EXCEPT ICELAND AND LUXEMBOURG. MOST EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS DEALT WITH NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE, RELATED QUESTION OF NPT RATIFICATION BY NATO SIGNATORIES, AND CONFIDENTIAL

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CW. OTHER SUBJECTS DISCUSSED MORE BRIEFLY WERE PROSPECTS FOR 1974 CCD SESSION, INCLUDING ENLARGEMENT; WDC AD HOC COMMITTEE; UNSYG'S EXPERT STUDY ON REDUCTIONS OF MILITARY BUDGETS; AND ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS OF LAWS OF WAR CONFERENCE. MEETING

WAS GENERALLY LOW-KEY WITH NO FIREWORKS. MOST INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT WAS STATEMENT BY FRG AND DUTCH REPS THAT THEY EXPECTED THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO RATIFY NPT BEFORE 1975 WHETHER OR NOT ITALY DOES SO. JAPANESE CW DRAFT TREATY BEING TABLED AT CCD WAS DISCUSSED BRIEFLY, WITH REPS OF UK, CANADA, AND NETHERLANDS EXPRESSING NEGATIVE FIRST REACTIONS. EXPERTS SEEMED APPRECIATIVE THAT U.S. HAD ACCEDED TO REQUEST TO HAVE SPECIAL CW EXPERTS PRESENT FOR DISCUSSION OF BINARY CW WEAPONS. CONCERN WAS EXPRESSED BY NETHERLANDS THAT U.S. ACQUISITION OF BINARIES MIGHT SCUTTLE CHANCE OF CW BAN. BELGIUM SPECULATED THAT BINARY PROCESS COULD GIVE ANY COUNTRY WITH DEVELOPED CHEMICAL INDUSTRY INSTANTANEOUS CW CAPABILITY. BOTH POINTS WERE DEALT WITH BY U.S. EXPERTS. SEVERAL ANTICIPATED QUESTIONS, E.G. REGARDING FORWARD DEPLOYMENT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CW PROLIFERATION, WERE NOT RAISED. END SUMMARY

1. NPT. REPS OF U.S. (GIVEN) UK (SUMMERHAYES) AND CANADA (BEATTIE) OUTLINED RESULTS OF FIRST SESSION OF NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE PREPCOM. GIVAN STRESSED DESIRABILITY OF LIMITING PARTICIPATION IN CONFERENCE TO NPT PARTIES; OBJECTIVE OF PREPCOM SHOULD BE TO RESOLVE IMPORTANT PROCEDURAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES OF CONFERENCE IN ADVANCE SO THESE WILL NOT BECOME SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY AT CONFERENCE; SUMMERHAYES SAID NPT CONFERENCE SHOULD HIGHLIGHT BENEFITS OF NPT TO NON-NUCLEAR AS WELL AS NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES. MEXICO, YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHERS WILL TRY TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON "INEQUALITIES" OF NPT. BEST STRATEGY WOULD BE TO DEVELOP DRAFT OF FINAL DECLARATION IN PREPCOM BEFORE CONFERENCE. ADDITIONAL RATIFICATIONS OF NPT BY NATO ALLIES WOULD HELP CONFERENCE.

2. FRG REP (ANDRAE) SAID FRG HOPES TO MAKE SUBSTANTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO WORK OF REVIEW CONFERENCE AS PARTY TO NPT, AND IS STUDYING IN PARTICULAR QUESTION OF PHYSICAL SECURITY OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL.

3. CANADIAN REP PREDICTED POLEMICS AT CONFERENCE OVER ARTICLES V (PNES) AND VI (FURTHER DISARMAMENT MEASURES). HE THOUGHT CONFERENCE SHOULD DO CONSTRUCTIVE WORK ON TRANSFERS OF NUCLEAR CONFIDENTIAL

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MATERIAL AND PHYSICAL SECURITY. WHILE GOC AGREES THAT ONLY PARTIES SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE DECISIONS, CANADA HAS OPEN MIND REGARDING ADMISSION OF OBSERVERS TO CONFERENCE. NETHERLANDS REP (ETTEMA) REMARKED THAT NON-NUCLEAR STATES HAVE SOME LEGITIMATE CONCERNS REGARDING NPT AND HE SAW MERIT IN ADMITTING INTERESTED NON-PARTIES TO NPT CONFERENCE, AT LEAST AS OBSERVERS. ITALIAN REP (FONTANA GIUSTI) THOUGHT CONFERENCE SHOULD SEEK TO IMPROVE NPT IN ORDER TO GIVE IT BROADER APPEAL. UK REP CHALLENGED FONTANA GIUSTI TO SPECIFY CHANGES THAT WOULD BE DESIRABLE AND FEASIBLE, AND ARGUED THAT DEMANDS FOR RAPID PROGRESS TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT ARE UNREALISTIC.

4. SEVERAL EXPERTS VOLUNTEERED STATEMENTS ON TIMING OF RATI-

FICATION. FRG AND NETHERLANDS HOPE TO RATIFY BY END OF YEAR  
IN TIME TO ATTEND LAST PREPCOM MEETING. IF ONE MEMBER OF  
EURATOM (ITALY) CANNOT RATIFY BY END OF YEAR, ETTEMA THOUGHT  
NETHERLANDS WOULD GO AHEAD ANYWAY. ANDREAE SAID THAT HE WOULD  
EXPECT FRG TO FOLLOW SAME COURSE. ANDREAE ASKED ITALIAN REP  
WHETHER, IN LIGHT OF HIS COMMENTS ON NEED TO IMPROVE NPT, HE  
MEANT THAT ITALY WOULD WAIT UNTIL AFTER REVIEW CONFERENCE TO  
RATIFY. FONTANA GIUSTI REPLIED THAT RATIFICATION WOULD PROBABLY  
COME BEFORE CONFERENCE. TURKISH REP (CELEM) SAID GOT HOPES TO  
RATIFY IN TIME TO PARTICIPATE IN REVIEW CONFERENCE. BELGIAN REP  
(KONINCKX) SAID GOB HOPES TO RATIFY NPT SOON. FRENCH  
REP (MISTRAL) SAID FRANCE HAS NOT JOINED NPT "FOR REASONS  
OF INTERNAL POLICY" BUT DOES NOT TAKE UNFAVORABLE VIEW OF NON-  
PROLIFERATION EFFORTS AND WILL NOT CRITICIZE THEM. CANADIAN REP  
POINTED OUT THAT FRANCE COULD ASSIST CAUSE OF NON-PROLIFERATION  
BY SUPPORTING STEPS TAKEN UNDER ARTICLE III (2) OF NPT (CONTROL  
OF EXPORTS TO NNWS) EVEN THOUGH FRANCE IS NOT PARTY TO NPT.

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 EA-11 IO-14 ISO-00 TRSE-00 ACDA-19

AEC-11 AF-10 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NASA-04

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-07 OIC-04 SP-03 PA-04 PRS-01

RSC-01 SCI-06 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 DRC-01 MC-02 OMB-01

/210 W

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R 011140Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5455

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS 3948

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 2372

5. CW. JAPANESE CW DRAFT TREATY WAS DISCUSSED ONLY BRIEFLY, WITH  
BELGIUM (WILLOT), NETHERLANDS, UK AND CANADA NOTING VARIOUS  
DEFICIENCIES IN DRAFT, INCLUDING COMPLICATED PROVISIONS FOR

EXCEPTIONS TO CW BAN AND LACK OF CLARITY REGARDING FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL VERIFICATION AGENCY. CANADIAN REP RAISED BINARIES BY ASKING US WHETHER BINARY PRODUCTION WOULD NOT MAKE CW VERIFICATION IMPOSSIBLE. US REP NOTED US AGENCIES ARE STUDYING RANGE OF CW ISSUES INCLUDING BINARIES AND RESULTS OF STUDY ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE. THERE IS NO REASON TO CONCLUDE, HOWEVER, THAT VERIFICATION PROBLEM WOULD BE MADE INSOLUBLE BY INTRODUCTION OF BINARIES. VERIFICATION OF ANY CW BAN WOULD INVOLVE DIFFICULTIES, AS MADE CLEAR BY DISCUSSIONS IN CCD. BINARIES MIGHT INVOLVE FURTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLICATIONS BUT NO ONE CAN PREDICT EXTENT. WHEN DUTCH REP COMMENTED THAT DECISION TO PRODUCE BINARIES WOULD UNDERMINE WESTERN CW POSITION IN CCD, US REP REPLIED THAT, ALTHOUGH BINARIES WOULD INTRODUCE SOME NEW COMPLICATIONS, THIS WAS NOT UNIQUE SITUATION IN ARMS CONTROL FIELD. US REMAINS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO SEEKING EFFECTIVE CW PROHIBITIONS. SEVERAL QUESTIONS WERE RAISED REGARDING TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF BINARIES. (US, UK, AND FRG HAD SPECIAL CW EXPERTS PRESENT.) BELGIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT RELATIVE SIMPLICITY OF BINARY MANUFACTURING PROCESS COULD GIVE ANY COUNTRY WITH CHEMICAL INDUSTRY "INSTANTANEOUS" CW CAPABILITY. THIS WOULD COMPLICATE VERIFICATION WHILE INCREASING DETERRENT VALUE OF CW CAPABILITY. US EXPERT (ACDA CONSULTANT CUTTER) POINTED OUT THAT BINARY PRODUCTION WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT AND TIME-CONSUMING THAN COMMONLY RECOGNIZED; DETERRENT VALUE OF BINARY PRODUCTION CAPABILITY IN ABSENCE OF ACTUAL MUNITIONS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT TO ASSESS. CANADIAN REP ASKED WHETHER US ESTIMATE OF SOVIET CW CAPABILITIES, PROVIDED TO EXPERTS LAST YEAR, WAS STILL VALID. US EXPERT (ANDERSON, DOD/ISA) SAID ESTIMATE STILL STOOD ALTHOUGH SUBJECT TO REVIEW AS PART OF CURRENT CW STUDIES.

6. CCD. GERMAN REP SAID FRG INTENDS TO SUBMIT FORMAL APPLICATION FOR CCD MEMBERSHIP BEFORE END OF SPRING SESSION BUT IS CONCERNED THAT MOSCOW OFFICIALS HAVE EXPRESSED NEGATIVE VIEWS ON PROPOSED PROCEDURE OF SEEKING UNGA ENDORSEMENT FOR ENLARGEMENT BEFORE NEW MEMBERS ARE SEATED AT CCD. US REP OUTLINED US APPROACH TO ENLARGEMENT, INCLUDING OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING CONSENSUS WITHIN CCD ON ADDING BOTH GERMANIES AND PERHAPS THREE NON-ALIGNED TO CCD. US REP REPORTED DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN CCD CO-CHAIRMEN IN GENEVA INDICATING THAT SO VIET CO-CHAIRMAN EXPECTS TO FOLLOW PROCEDURE FAVORED BY US AND FRG. (GERMAN REP SAD LATER THAT HE WAS REASSURED BY US PRESENTATION. HE ALSO VOLUNTEERED THAT FRG WOULD MOVE MORE QUICKLY TO SUBMIT APPLICATION IN VIEW OF LIKELIHOOD THAT CCD WOULD RECESS IN LATE MAY.) UK REP SUPPORTED US VIEWS ON PROCEDURES, POINTING OUT THAT CCD HAS NORMALLY BEEN ENLARGED BY CONSENSUS AFTER CO-CHAIRMEN HAVE "TESTED WATER" AND THOLD CCD MEMBERSHIP WHAT THEY BELIEVE WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. CANADIAN REP EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT ENLARGEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED ON BASIS OF CONSENSUS; HE THOUGHT ISSUE MIGHT BE SEIZED UPON BY MEXICO, YUGOSLAVIA AND OTHERS AS OCCASION TO

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PRESS FOR REORGANIZATION OF CCD.

7. PROSPECTS FOR SUBSTANTIVE WORK AT CCD ON ISSUES OTHER THAN CW WERE DISCUSSED BRIEFLY. US REP NOTED WIDE-RANGING US STUDY OF ALL TEST BAN ISSUES NOT YET COMPLETE AND COULD NOT PREDICT THAT THERE WOULD BE ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS BY SUMMER CCD SESSION, THOUGH NOT EXCLUDING POSSIBILITY. NETHERLANDS REP NOTED RECENT STATEMENT BY SOVIET CCD REP ON NEED FOR FIVE-POWER ADHERENCE TO CTB AND ON BASING ANY TREATY ON PRINCIPLE OF NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, AND ASKED WHETHER OTHERS INTERPRETED THIS TO MEAN SOVIETS ARE NOT INTERESTED IN TEST BAN. US REP COMMENTED THAT SOVIETS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY AMBIGUOUS AND LUKEWARM IN CTB STATEMENTS FOR SOME TIME, PARTLY NO DOUBT TO CALL ATTENTION TO CHINESE TESTING. QUESTION WHETHER SOVIETS WOULD NEGOTIATE TEST BAN IS STILL OPEN. NETHERLANDS REP WONDERED WHETHER PROPOSAL FOR INTERIM AGREEMENT BANNING UNDERGROUND TESTS FOR FIVE TO TEN YEARS WOULD BE ADVISABLE. ITALIAN REP ADDED THAT SUCH PROPOSAL COULD PLACE ONUS ON SOVIETS FOR FAILURE TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT. US REP QUESTIONED DESIRABILITY, OR FEASIBILITY, OF PUTTING FORWARD MORATORIUM PROPOSAL SIMPLY TO PUT ONUS ON SOVIETS. MOREOVER, THIS WOULD NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH US POSITION THAT ANY SUCH BAN SHOULD BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIED.

8. WDC. VARIOUS REPS REAFFIRMED NATIONAL POSITIONS REGARDING WDC AND AD HOC COMMITTEE. ONLY INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT WAS FRENCH STATEMENT THAT DECISION TO SEND OBSERVER TO AD HOC COMMITTEE WOULD BE RECONSIDERED IF IT APPEARED THAT OTHER NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES, PRC IN PARTICULAR, DID NOT INTEND TO COOPERATE CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH COMMITTEE.

9. UNSYG EXPERT STUDY OF MILITARY BUDGETS. US REP REVIEWED REASONS US DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY, REPORTED ON FIRST SESSION OF EXPERTS, AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR UK DECISION TO SEND EXPERT. UK EXPLAINED THAT EARLIER HESITATION HAD BEEN BASED ON HIGH POTENTIAL STUDY OFFERED FOR SOVIET PROPAGANDA. HOWEVER, UK RECOGNIZED NEED TO RESIST SOVIET EXPLOITATION OF STUDY AND THEREFORE HOPED OTHERS WOULD ALSO DECIDE TO SEND EXPERTS EVEN AT THIS LATE DATE. OTHER REPS (NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, BELGIUM, AND ITALY) EXPRESSED REGRET THEY HAD BEEN UNABLE TO ACCEDE TO US REQUEST TO PROVIDE EXPERTS.

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10. LAWS OF WAR. VARIOUS REPS SAID THEIR GOVERNMENTS WOULD SEND EXPERTS TO ICRC C

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 19 MAR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <19 MAR 2002 by smithrj>; APPROVED <07 MAY 2002 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> jms 19990816; <DBA CORRECTED> jms 19990818  
**Subject:** SPRING MEETING OF NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS  
**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE INFO SECDEF  
ALL NATO CAPITALS  
TOKYO  
MOSCOW  
VIENNA  
EC BRUSSELS  
GENEVA

STOCKHOLM  
BELGRADE  
MEXICO CITY

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005